

## Nations and Nationalism

**Course code:** POS 204

**Semester and year:** Fall 2021

**Day and time:** Thursdays, 11.30-14.15

**Instructor:** Dr William F. Eddleston, M.A., PhD.

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**Consultation hours:** Thursday, 14.30-15.30 by appointment or online via Microsoft Teams.

<b>Credits US/ECTS</b>	3/6	<b>Level</b>	Intermediate
<b>Length</b>	15 weeks	<b>Pre-requisite</b>	TOEFL iBT 71
<b>Contact hours</b>	42 hours	<b>Course type</b>	Bachelor Required

### 1. Course Description

*Nations and Nationalism* aims to provide students with a firm grounding in the history of the concept of the nation, national identity and nationalism in its European context from antiquity to the end of the Second World War. The seminar programme will focus on the major theories and theoreticians of nationalism.

The short historical lectures will examine the history of nationalism and the formation of European nation-states from the late mediaeval period to the end of the Second World War, with a particular emphasis on the period between 1789 and 1945. The course will devote attention to such questions as the problem of the origin of the nation state; the question of the existence of nations and nationalism in antiquity and the middle ages; the growth of the consciousness of national identity in the 18th century; the impact of the French Revolution on the growth of nationalism; the period of the liberal nationalism and its contradictions; the 1848 revolutions, especially in their Central European context; the rise of nationalist chauvinism and racism; the disastrous consequences of the treaty of Versailles in Eastern Europe and the Near East, and the culmination of extreme nationalism in fascism. The final class will look at the aggressive re-emergence of nationalism in Europe in the wake of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the Soviet empire.

Throughout the lectures there will be a discussion of the ideas of many of the founding fathers of nationalism, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Giuseppe Mazzini.

The seminar units – the real core of the course – will critically examine the writings of some of the major 20th century theoreticians of nationalism, focusing strongly on methodological disputes between the various competing schools of interpretation: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism, early modernism, modernism, Marxism and postmodernism.

### 2. Student Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Comprehend the development of nations and nationalism in Europe from antiquity until the Second World War.
- Understand the role of nationalism in shaping modern Europe.

- Have an understanding of the theoretical problems relating to the study of nationalism.
- Discern the relationship of nationalism to racialism and fascism.
- Understand different historical forms of nationalism, such as Hans Kohn's famous distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism.
- Comprehend the main theoretical models in the study of nationalism: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism, early modernism, modernism, Marxism and postmodernism.
- Be familiar with principal ideas of some of the fathers of nationalism, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Giuseppe Mazzini.
- Explore the connections between 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism and Romanticism.
- Understand the ideas and arguments of major 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century theoreticians of nationalism; notably Stephen Grosby, Anthony D. Smith, Adrian Hastings, Liah Greenfeld, Philip Gorski, Isaiah Berlin, Elie Kedourie, Ernest Gellner, John Breuilly, Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, Eric Hobsbawm, George L. Mosse and Umut Özkirimli.

Students will be evaluated on the following:

- Presentation, communication and teamwork skills.
- Research and academic writings skills.
- Critical thinking skills.

### **3. Reading Material**

#### ***Required Materials***

#### **Textbooks**

The following works will serve as textbooks and make up the bulk of the Course Reader for weekly readings:

- Grosby, Steven. *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hutchinson, John & Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Nationalism*. Oxford Readers. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. New York: St Martin's Press, 2000.
- Smith, Anthony D. Smith. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London & New York: Routledge, 1998.

#### **List of required books and articles**

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London & New York: Verso, 1991.
- Bosworth, R. J. B. *Nationalism*. London: Pearson Education, 2007.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nationalism*. London: Phoenix, 1997.
- Glassheim, Eagle. "National Mythologies and Ethnic Cleansing: The Expulsion of Czechoslovak Germans in 1945." *Central European History*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2000), pp. 463-486.
- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: A Short History*. Washington, D.C.; Brookings Institution Press, 2019: 13-33.

- Gorski, Philip. "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism." *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 105, No. 5 (Mar, 2000): 1428-1468.
- Griffin, Roger. "Withstanding the Rush of Time: The Prescience of Mosse's Anthropological View of Fascism." In Payne, Stanley, Sorkin, David J. & Tortorice, John, eds. *What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004: 110-33.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hayes, Carleton J. H. "Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism." *The American Historical Review*, Vol 32, No. 4 (July, 1927): 719-736.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press/Canto, 1992.
- Hroch, Miroslav. "From National Movement to Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe." In Balakrishan, Gopal, ed. *Mapping the Nation. With an Introduction by Benedict Anderson*. London & New York: Verso, 1996: 78-97.
- Ichijo, Atsuko & Uzelac, Gordana, eds. *When is the Nation? Towards an Understanding of Theories of Nationalism*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Kedourie, Elie. *Nationalism*. 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.
- Kedourie, "Dark Gods and Their Rites." In Hutchinson and Smith, *Nationalism*: 205-9
- Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background*. New York: Collier Books, 1944.
- Kohn, Hans. "Western and Eastern Nationalisms." In Hutchinson, John & Smith, Anthony D., eds. *Nationalism*. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994: 161-65.
- Kohn, Hans. "The Modernity of Nationalism." In Tipton, C. Leon, ed. *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*. European Problem Studies. New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1972: 7-13.
- Mosse, George L. *The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism*. New York: Howard Fertig, 1999.
- Mosse, George L. *The Nationalisation of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. New York: Meridian, 1975.
- Özkirimli, Umut & Sofos, Spyros A. *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*. London: Hurst & Company, 2008.
- Smith, Anthony D. *The Antiquity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.
- Smith, Anthony D. *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishing, 2008.

### **Recommended Materials**

- Berlin, Isaiah. "Nationalism: Past Neglect and Present Power." In Berlin, Isaiah. *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979: 333-355.
- Berlin, Isaiah. "The Bent Twig: On the Rise of Nationalism." In Berlin, Isaiah. *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Essays in the History of Ideas*. London: John Murray, 1990: 238-261.
- Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.

- Mosse, George L. *Confronting History: A Memoir*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
- O'Brien, Connor Cruise. "Nationalism and the French Revolution." In Best, Geoffrey, ed. *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and its Legacy, 1789-1989*. London: Fontana Press, 1989: 17-48.
- Özkirimli, Umut & Grosby, Steven. "Nationalism Theory Debate: The Antiquity of Nations?" *Nations and Nationalism* 13 (3), 2007: 523-537.
- Tipton, C. Leon, ed. *Nationalism in the Middle Ages*. European Problem Studies. New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1972.
- Gentile, Emilio. "A Provisional Dwelling: The Origin and Development of the Concept of Fascism in Mosse's Historiography." In Payne, Stanley, Sorkin, David J. & Tortorice, John, eds. *What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004: 41-109.

#### 4. Teaching methodology

This second-year level course will be taught via a combination of short historical lectures by the instructor; student presentations and class (and possibly online) discussion.

Most weeks, the instructor will deliver a lecture on the history of nations, nationalism and the "idea of the nation" from antiquity to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. To the nearest degree possible, the instructor has attempted to mirror in the historical lectures what will be discussed in the theoretical seminar for each week.

**The historical lectures** will examine the history of nationalism and the formation of European nation-states from the late mediaeval period to the end of the Second World War, with a particular emphasis on the period between 1789 and 1945. The course will devote attention to such questions as the problem of the origin of the nation state; the question of the existence of nations and nationalism in antiquity and the middle ages; the growth of the consciousness of national identity in the 18th century; the impact of the French Revolution on the growth of nationalism; the period of the liberal nationalism and its contradictions; the 1848 revolutions, especially in their Central European context; the rise of nationalist chauvinism and racism; the disastrous consequences of the treaty of Versailles in Eastern Europe and the Near East, and the culmination of extreme nationalism in fascism. The final class will look at the aggressive re-emergence of nationalism in Europe in the wake of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the Soviet empire.

Throughout the lectures there will be a discussion of the ideas of many of the founding fathers of nationalism, such as Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Giuseppe Mazzini.

But the real core of the class will revolve around student presentation and discussion theories and theoreticians of nationalism. Although the instructor will guide discussions, set readings and give advice and criticism, **it will be students themselves who will in small groups deliver presentations and lead discussions on the major theoreticians and interpretative schools of nationalism.** Each student group will give two presentations, one in the first half of the semester and the other in the second. Those not giving presentations on any given week will be expected to have read at least the minimal essential readings and to participate in discussions about theories and theoreticians of nationalism.

**The seminar units** will critically examine the writings of some of the major 20<sup>th</sup> century theoreticians of nationalism, focusing strongly on methodological disputes between the

various competing schools of interpretation: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism, early modernism, modernism, Marxism and postmodernism.

Topics for detailed discussion within the seminar programme include:

The relationship between nationalism, ethnicity and religion; conceptual and methodological debates about the possibility of nations and nationalism in the ancient and mediaeval worlds; early modern "covenantal" or "biblical chosen people" nationalisms; nationalism and Romanticism; nationalism as a "Messianic" political cult; nations as "imagined communities"; the invention of tradition for nationalist purposes; the connections between nationalism and racialism; nationalism and fascism; the misuse of archaeology for nationalist purposes and nationalism, postcolonialism and postmodernism.

The course will centre upon a detailed examination of the ideas and arguments of major 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century theoreticians of nationalism; notably Stephen Grosby, Anthony D. Smith, Adrian Hastings, Liah Greenfeld, Philip Gorski, Isaiah Berlin, Elie Kedourie, Ernest Gellner, John Breuilly, Benedict Anderson, Miroslav Hroch, Tom Nairn, Eric Hobsbawm, George L. Mosse and Umut Özkirimli. One seminar will explore the ideas of two of the founding fathers of nationalism, Herder and Fichte, in the context of late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanticism.

of 40%. A significant portion of this grade will be based upon how well presenters either facilitate in-class discussion and/or respond to online Forum questions and observations.

Twenty percent (20%) of your grade is be based upon participation in weekly seminar discussions. **Due to the COVID-19 crisis, class discussions may be replaced in full or in part with NEO Forum discussions.** This will necessitate students writing short questions and appraisals of student seminar presentations, with presenting students responding online.

Students will be required to submit 3 essays throughout the course: a long mid-term essay assignment (**due Sunday, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 23.59/11.59 pm CET**) and two for the final essays assignment (due the day of **Session 14 - Thursday, December 9<sup>th</sup> by 23.59/11.59 pm CET**). The mid-term essay is worth 20% and each of the final s is worth 10% of your overall grade, for a total of 40% of your overall grade. Essays will be on selected topics relating to each of the 11 seminar units and the prompts will be visible throughout the semester.

Each essay must be submitted double-spaced with footnotes and bibliography in Chicago format. **Any essays submitted without footnotes and a bibliography, with inadequate or inaccurate footnotes and/or with incorrectly formatted footnotes and/or bibliography will receive an automatic failing – F – grade.**

**There will be no in-class midterm or final exams.**

## 5. Course Schedule

Date	Class Agenda
<b>Session 1</b> September 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>Topic:</b> Introduction <b>Description:</b> General introduction to the scope of the course. Distribution of syllabus. Explanation of course, grading structure and teaching method. In this first class, reading and seminar presentation groups will be decided upon and seminar presentations assigned.

	<p><b>Reading:</b> Kohn, Hans. "Western and Eastern Nationalisms." In Hutchinson, John &amp; Smith, Anthony D., eds. <i>Nationalism</i>. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994: 161-65; Özkirimli, Umut. <i>Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction</i>. New York: St Martin's Press, 2000: 35-37; Smith, Anthony D. <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>. London &amp; New York: Routledge, 1998: 16-17.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Come to class prepared to discuss and answer questions on the very short reading extracts, above.</p>
<p><b>Session 2</b> September 9<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Primordialism: Were there Nations in the Ancient World?  <b>Description:</b> Although Ernest Renan had challenged the idea of the primordality of nations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, most nationalists before the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century believed that nations had ancient roots, stretching back into the tribal past of European peoples. Following the pioneering scholarship of Carleton S. Hayes and Hans Kohn, this view was almost universally rejected in favour of the theory of the modernity of nations and nationalism – i.e., that no "nations" or "nationalism" had existed before the 18<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> centuries at the very earliest. But in the 1980s and 90s, this modernist paradigm was challenged by "primordialist" scholars like Steven Grosby. Seminar 1 – a lecturer presentation – examines the work of Grosby and other primordialist scholars who argue for the existence of nations in early antiquity. We also begin our exploration of Anthony D. Smith's "halfway house" between primordialism and modernism – "ethnosymbolism."  <b>Reading:</b> Grosby, Stephen. <i>Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction</i>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005: 27-97; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>: 49-71; Smith, Anthony D. "Were there Nations in Antiquity?" In Smith, Anthony D. <i>The Antiquity of Nations</i>. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004: 127-153.  <b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Groups A, B, C, D and E – read and take notes on the Essential Readings for Seminar 1. Come to class prepared to discuss your readings and debate the "questions for discussion."</p>
<p><b>Session 3</b> September 16<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Perennialism: Were there Nations and Nationalism in the European Middle Ages?  <b>Description:</b> Most scholars of nationalism concur that nationalism and the nation itself are European phenomena which were subsequently spread to other parts of the world. But how old is the European nation? Did some peoples – such as the English – achieve a "national consciousness" long before other peoples did – perhaps as early as the middle ages? Seminar 2 explores the "perennialist" thesis of the late Adrian Hastings, mediaevalist and theologian. Like Seminar 1, it examines one of schools of thought which challenges the predominant paradigm of the modernity of nations and national sentiment.  <b>Reading:</b> Hastings, Adrian. <i>The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationality</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996: 1-65; Reynolds, Susan. "Regnal Sentiments and Medieval Communities." In Hutchinson, John &amp; Smith, Anthony D., eds. <i>Nationalism</i>. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995: 137-40; Kohn, Hans. "The Modernity of Nationalism." In Tipton, C. Leon, ed. <i>Nationalism in the Middle Ages</i>. European Problem Studies. New York: Rinehart &amp; Winston, 1972: 7-13.  <b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group A – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 2 - Perennialism: Were</p>

	there Nations and Nationalism in the European Middle Ages? Groups B, C, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 2.
<b>Session 4</b>  September 23 <sup>rd</sup>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Bible and Covenant: England, the Dutch Republic and Early Modern Nationalism</p> <p><b>Description:</b> In his ground-breaking 1940s work <i>The Idea of the Nation</i>, pioneering scholar of nationalism Hans Kohn argued the case for 17<sup>th</sup> century revolutionary England as pioneer of the national idea and nationalism itself. In later years, other influential scholars like Liah Greenfeld have followed Kohn’s lead, seeing an English national identity emerging even as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation. Other scholars have applied an early modern “biblical” or “Covenantal” model to other early modern states such as the Dutch Republic – and even the Hussite Czechs of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.</p> <p>This seminar will explore the work of these “early modern nationalism” scholars, with particular emphasis on concepts like a national “covenant” and “Chosen People.” We will also explore the possible connections between Reformation literacy, bible reading and a growing national consciousness amongst some early modern peoples.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Gorski, Philip. “The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism.” <i>American Journal of Sociology</i>. Vol. 105, No. 5 (Mar, 2000): 1428-1468; Greenfeld, Liah. <i>Nationalism: A Short History</i>. Washington, D.C.; Brookings Institution Press, 2019: 1-33.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group B – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 3 - Bible and Covenant: England, the Dutch Republic and Early Modern Nationalism. Groups A, C, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 3.</p>
<b>Session 5</b>  September 30 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nationalism and Romanticism: From Herder to Fichte.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> The eighteenth-century German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder is usually credited with the title of the founding father of nationalism – or, at least, the integral nationalism characteristic of nations “East of the Rhine.” This thesis looks at Herder and those nationalists who followed him like Johann Gottlieb Fichte in terms of the Romantic movement of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Hayes, Carleton J. H. “Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism.” <i>The American Historical Review</i>, Vol 32, No. 4 (July, 1927): 719-736; McClelland, J. S. <i>A History of Western Political Thought</i>. London &amp; New York: Routledge, 1996: 594-615.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group C – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 4 – Nationalism and Romanticism: J. G. Herder and His Legacy. Groups A, B, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 4.</p>
<b>Session 6</b>  October 7 <sup>th</sup>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Do Nations Have Navels? Ernest Gellner vs. Anthony D. Smith.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> Few modernist accounts of the rise of nations and nationalism are as intellectually cogent or have been as influential as that of Ernest Gellner – the legendary Czech Jewish sociologist and emigre to Great Britain. For Gellner, the rise of both nationalism and of nations themselves can only be understood as part of a wider and more profound transformation: The Industrial Revolution, the most important thing to happen in human history since the Neolithic agricultural revolution.</p>

	<p>Anthony D. Smith, Gellner's student at the LSE in the 1960s, disputed Gellner's modernism and came to believe that nations had developed from earlier ethnic attachments: configurations of myths, shared histories, geographies and cultural traditions that Smith termed <i>ethnies</i>. Smith doubted that nations could be created <i>ex nihilo</i> – as God had created Adam. This seminar thus poses Gellner's question: do nations have navels?</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Gellner, Ernest. <i>Nationalism</i>. London: Phoenix, 1995: 1-37; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>: 27-46; Smith, Anthony D. "Memory and Modernity." In Smith, <i>The Antiquity of Nations</i>: 62-81. (The last is Smith's account of his famous debate with Gellner at the LSE, just weeks before Gellner's death.)</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group D – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 5 - Do Nations Have Navels? Ernest Gellner vs. Anthony D. Smith. Groups A, B, C and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 5.</p>
<p><b>Session 7</b></p> <p>October 14<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nations Imagined: Benedict Anderson and the Revolutions in the New World.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> Few books on nationalism have been as influential as Benedict Anderson's <i>Imagined Communities</i>. Yet Anderson himself complained that his thesis was more talked about than it was actually read and understood. One of the principal aims of Anderson's book was to explain the surprising and overlooked fact that the first great wave of nationalist revolutions took place not in Europe but in the New World. The seminar will examine Anderson's ideas in the historical context of these revolutions, also looking critically at the extent to which the New Left Marxist Anderson's theory is in any plausible sense "Marxist."</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Anderson, Benedict. "Imagined Communities" &amp; "Creole Pioneers of Nationalism." In Hutchinson, John &amp; Smith, Anthony D., eds. <i>Nationalism</i>. Oxford Readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995: 137-40; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>: 117-42; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction</i>: 143-56.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group E – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 6 - Nations Imagined: Benedict Anderson and the Revolutions in the New World. Groups A, B, C and D – Essential Readings for Seminar 6.</p>
<p><b>Session 8</b></p> <p>October 21<sup>st</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nationalism and Messianism: Elie Kedourie and the "Dark Gods" Theory of Nationalism.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> Today's seminar examines the work of one the 20<sup>th</sup> century's earliest and most cogent critics of nationalism, both in its European and post-colonial manifestations. Elie Kedourie was an Iraqi Jew and Orientalist who was forced to flee his country because of what he saw as the alien "virus" of nationalism. Kedourie believed that nationalism was a European disease of the mind, similar to the violent Messianic cults that had plagued late mediaeval Europe. Kedourie's work questions whether Hans Kohn's famous distinction between "good" Western civic and "bad" Eastern integral nationalism is an intellectually sustainable one.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Kedourie, Elie. <i>Nationalism</i>: 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993: 44-55; 87-112; Kedourie, "Dark Gods and Their Rites." In Hutchinson and Smith, <i>Nationalism</i>: 205-9; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>: 97-116.</p>



	<p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group A – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 7 - Nationalism and Messianism: Elie Kedourie and the “Dark Gods” Theory of Nationalism. Groups B, C, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 7.</p> <p><b>Midterm essays</b> are due and must be uploaded to the Turnitin assignment “Midterm Essay” by <b>due Sunday, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 23.59/11.59 pm CET.</b></p>
<p><b>October 28<sup>th</sup></b></p>	<p><b>Midterm Break = No Class</b></p>
<p><b>Session 9</b> November 4<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> From Folklorists to Nationalists: Miroslav Hroch and “Small Nation” Nationalism.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> Hailing from the same Charles University that nurtured Hans Kohn, few books on the history of nationalism have been as influential as Miroslav Hroch’s <i>Social preconditions of national revival in Europe</i>. His tripartite historical evolutionary scheme of the development of “small nation” national movements has proved to be one of the most recognisable and enduring of all modernist nationalist theories. This seminar will examine Hroch’s ideas, with special reference to the Czech national movement.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Hroch, Miroslav. “From National Movement to Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe.” In Balakrishan, Gopal, ed. <i>Mapping the Nation</i>. With an Introduction by Benedict Anderson. London &amp; New York: Verso, 1996: 78-97; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>: 113-20.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group B – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 8 - From Folklorists to Nationalists: Miroslav Hroch. Groups A, C, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 8.</p>
<p><b>Session 10</b> November 11<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nations Invented: Eric Hobsbawm and the Invention of Tradition.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> The late Eric Hobsbawm, perhaps the most famous Marxist historian of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, made profound contributions to the study of nationalism. A convinced modernist, Hobsbawm believed that nationalism and nationalists created nations, not the other way around. Nationalism was a way in which the world’s ruling classes negotiated the crisis of industrial modernity and staved off the threat of socialist internationalism. No study of nationalism can avoid engaging with Hobsbawm and Ranger’s famous thesis of “invented traditions.” This seminar will examine Hobsbawm’s work in the context of his modernism and Marxism. It will also examine his theory of nationalism in relationship to his dispute with another British Marxist theorist of nationalism, Tom Nairn’s “anticolonial” theory of national identity – with its strong Leninist roots – viewed nationalism as a far more positive and progressive phenomenon.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Hobsbawm, Eric. “The Nation as an Invented Tradition” &amp; “The Rise of Ethno-Linguistic Nationalism.” In Hutchinson &amp; Smith, <i>Nationalism</i>: 76-83, 177-84; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>: 117-31; Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>: 116-27.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group C – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 9 - Nations Invented: Eric Hobsbawm and the Invention of Tradition. Groups A, B, D and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 9.</p>

<p><b>Session 11</b></p> <p>November 18<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nationalism and Fascism: George L. Mosse.  <b>Description:</b> George L. Mosse was one of the most original historical thinkers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a scholar who revolutionised the study of Nazism and Fascism. At the core of Mosse’s approach to fascism was a belief that many of its principal characteristics could be traced to the French Revolution and its new “cult of the fallen soldier.” Mosse’s studies traced the rise of nationalist monuments, festivals and funerary cults through the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, showing how deeply the ritualistic and mass participatory aspects of fascism were grounded in this legacy.  <b>Reading:</b> Mosse, George L. “Fascism and the French Revolution,” pp. 69-95. In Mosse, George L. <i>The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism</i>. New York: Howard Fertig, 1999; Griffin, Roger. “Withstanding the Rush of Time: The Prescience of Mosse’s Anthropological View of Fascism.” In Payne, Stanley, Sorkin, David J. &amp; Tortorice, John, eds. <i>What History Tells: George L. Mosse and the Culture of Modern Europe</i>. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004: 110-33.  <b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group D – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 10 - Nationalism and Fascism: George L. Mosse. Groups A, B, C and E – Essential Readings for Seminar 10.</p>
<p><b>Session 12</b></p> <p>November 25<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nationalism and Communism.  <b>Description:</b> Ostensibly a political movement based upon the international solidarity of the working classes, Communism and nationalism have always proved perversely comfortable bedfellows. In the mid to late 1940s in particular, Communist or Communist-dominated governments in Central and Eastern Europe pursued totalising policies of “nationalisation” – in Brubaker’s sense – which achieved results beyond the wildest imaginings of their interwar nationalist predecessors. This seminar will explore the meshing of Communism and nationalism, focusing especially on the ethnic cleansing policies of the Polish and Czechoslovak governments and the Stalinist appropriation of Pan-Slavism. (Or was it the Pan-Slavic appropriation of Stalinism?)  This will be a seminar discussion without lecture – all students will read and discuss the assigned readings. In the second half of the class, we will watch Sergei Eisenstein's <i>Alexander Nevsky</i> (1938) and think about and discuss the blending of Communism and nationalism in this masterpiece of Stalinist cinema. (The theme of Communism and Nationalism will continue next week when we examine the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s.)  <b>Reading:</b> Bosworth, R. J. B. <i>Nationalism</i>. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd, 2007: 131-166; Glassheim, Eagle. “National Mythologies and Ethnic Cleansing: The Expulsion of Czechoslovak Germans in 1945. <i>Central European History</i>, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2000), pp. 463-486.  <b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> All Presentation Groups – Readings for Seminar 11 – Nationalism and Communism.</p>
<p><b>Session 13</b></p> <p>December 2<sup>nd</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Nationalism and Postmodernism: Umut Özkirimli and the Nationalistic Misappropriation of History and Archaeology.</p>

	<p><b>Description:</b> In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, the young Turkish scholar Umut Özkirimli has established himself as one of the most prominent and wide-ranging of a new generation of “postmodernist” scholars challenging earlier approaches the study of nationalism. A wide-ranging designation, postmodernist approaches to the study of nationalism include postcolonial, poststructural and feminist readings of nationalist discourse. In Özkirimli’s work, competing “Greek” and “Turkish” national identities are deconstructed from something primordial and essential to things that have been shifting, historically contingent and performative.</p> <p>We examine Özkirimli’s postmodernism through his deconstruction of “Turkish” and “Greek” national identities, highlighting these competing nationalisms’ misappropriation and distortion of history and archaeology.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> Özkirimli, <i>Theories of Nationalism</i>: 169-219; Smith, <i>Nationalism and Modernism</i>: 199-220.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> Presentation Group E – reading for and preparing a slide show presentation on Seminar 12 - Nationalism and Communism Nationalism and Postmodernism: Umut Özkirimli and the Nationalistic Misappropriation of History and Archaeology. Groups A, B, C and D – Essential Readings for Seminar 12.</p>
<p><b>Session 14</b></p> <p>December 9<sup>th</sup></p>	<p><b>Topic:</b> Final Essays Due.</p> <p><b>Description:</b> Final Class – essays due.</p> <p><b>Reading:</b> None.</p> <p><b>Assignments/deadlines:</b> <b>Final Essays</b> are due will be uploaded to the Turnitin assignment “Final Essays” by <b>Thursday, December 9<sup>th</sup> by 23.59/11.59 pm CET.</b></p>

## 6. Course Requirements and Assessment (with estimated workloads)

Assignment	Workload (average)	Weight in Final Grade	Evaluated Course Specific Learning Outcomes	Evaluated Institutional Learning Outcomes *
Class Participation	42	20%	For a strong class participation grade, students will be required to do the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attend weekly in-school classes - <b>or the Microsoft Teams conference classes</b> -and listen to the students’ – or lecturer’s – seminar PowerPoint presentation.</li> </ul>	3

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ask follow-up questions and make observations on the student PowerPoint presentation for that week and engage in any in-class <b>or online NEO Forum debates.</b></li> </ul> <p><b>In the event of face-to-face classes being cancelled or cut back due to a second COVID-19 wave, students will also be asked to do the following:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Provide brief written questions and/or observations of the presenting group for the week's seminar presentation. This will be done on NEO Forum.</b></li> </ul>	
Seminar Presentation 1 Presentation Seminars 1-5.	<p>A 45-minute presentation using PowerPoint or similar presentation software. Speaking time of c. 6-8 minutes per presenter.</p> <p>Preparation Time = c. 24 hours</p>	20%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The ability to express reasoned opinions about controversial questions relating to 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century theories of nationalism.</li> <li>Knowledge of key theoretical models: primordialism, perennialism, modernism, Marxism, ethnosymbolism and postmodernism.</li> <li>Accurate and detailed understanding of the ideas of major 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century</li> </ul>	1, 2, 3.

			<p>theoreticians of nationalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To argue with those of opposing points of view based upon logic and evidence.</li> <li>• Critical reading and comprehension skills.</li> <li>• <u>Presentation skills</u>- the ability to condense a wide variety of reading into a cogent presentation of a significant historical problem for the benefit of class of peers.</li> </ul>	
Seminar Presentation 2 – Presentation Seminars 6-10.	As above.  Preparation Time = c. 24 hours	20%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As above.</li> </ul>	1, 2, 3.
Midterm Essay	A research essay of c. 2000 words (= c. 7-10 double-spaced pages).  Study and Writing Time = 30 hours	20%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The student's knowledge of the major themes, theoretical models and the ideas of major 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century theoreticians of nationalism.</li> <li>• The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence.</li> </ul>	
Final Take-Home Exam Essays	Two 800-1000-word essays – c. 8-10 pages in total.	20%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As above for Midterm Essay.</li> </ul>	1, 2.

	Study and Writing Time = 30 hours			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100%</b>		

\*1 = Critical Thinking; 2 = Effective Communication; 3 = Effective and Responsible Action

## 7. Detailed description of the assignments

### ***Class Participation Grade***

Before each student seminar presentation in the first session of each in school class, students will be expected to discuss their assigned weekly readings in small groups with other students (who will have been assigned different readings). Students will then be quizzed by the lecturer about their individual readings. This semester, owing to the COVID-19 crisis, this section will be conducted on NEO Forums.

A significant portion of your participation grade will be based upon your work in this section of the class. How well you have understood your readings and the quality of your participation in class discussions, especially when asked to provide a summary and evaluation of your weekly reading.

Given the ongoing COVID-19 crisis, there is still a possibility that at least part (and possibly all) of the class will be held online. In this event, students will be expected to put these follow up questions in written form on NEO Forum, where they will be responded to in writing.

A second part of your participation grade will be based upon follow-up questions and participation in discussions that will follow each student presentation.

Finally, you are expected to attend class regularly.

### **Assessment breakdown:**

<b>Assessed area</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Participation during class and/or Microsoft Teams online class, especially giving reading summaries when required	50%
Participation in NEO Forums	50%

### ***Class Presentations***

Two c. 45-minute presentations using PowerPoint or similar presentation software.

The first student presentations will take place in the first half of the semester. The first presentations will be given on one of five areas, beginning with Seminar 2: 2. Nations and Nationalism in the Europe Middle Ages: Adrian Hastings and Perennialism; 3. Bible and Covenant: England, the Dutch Republic and Early Modern Nationalism 4. Seminar 4 – Nationalism and Romanticism: J. G. Herder and His Legacy. 5. Do Nations Have Navels?:

Ernest Gellner vs. Anthony D. Smith on Nations and *Ethnies*. 6. Nations Imagined: Benedict Anderson and the Revolutions in the New World.

The second presentation will be on one of the following five topics, numbered from 6 through to 11, and will take place in the second half of the semester: 7. Nationalism and Messianism: Elie Kedourie and the "Dark Gods" Theory of Nationalism. 8. From Folklorists to Nationalists: Miroslav Hroch and "Small Nation" Nationalism. 9. Nations Invented: Eric Hobsbawm and the Invention of Tradition. 10. Nationalism and Fascism: George L. Mosse and 11. Nationalism and Postmodernism: Umut Özkirimli and the Nationalist Misuse of the Past in Greece and Turkey.

**A full 20% of the grade for each presentation will be based on how well the presenting group has managed to encourage class discussion. Remember: these are *discussion seminars*, not simply presentations.**

**It is very likely this semester that much of the discussion and response to your presentations will be given online via NEO Forum. Hence, a significant part of your grade will be based on the quality of your follow-up written work on NEO Forum. As our classes are very likely to be hybrid classes, students will need to engage in class when possible as well as engaged offline with those students who are studying abroad.**

The assessment of the presentation will test the following:

- The ability to express reasoned opinions about controversial questions and theoretical problems relating to the study of nations and nationalism.
- To argue with those of opposing points of view on the basis of logic and evidence.
- Critical reading and comprehension skills.
- Presentation skills- the ability to condense a wide variety of reading into a cogent presentation of a significant historical problem for the benefit of class of peers.
- The encouragement of class questioning and discussion.

### **Assessment breakdown**

<b>Assessed area</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Critical Thinking	20%
Use of Evidence to Support Ideas	20%
Answering Presentation Questions	20%
Presentation Skills	20%
Encouragement of Class Questioning and Discussion	20%

### **Midterm Essay**

The midterm written assignment will consist of an essay of c. 2000 words (c. 7-10 double-spaced page). The essay will be completed at home by the student – there will be no in-class exam. The possible topics will be based upon seminars 1-5 from the first half of the course.

Prompts for the essays will appear on the seminar reading lists from the very beginning of the semester. **Students are therefore advised to begin reading, note-taking, thinking through and drafting their essays from very early in the semester, as a high standard of work will be expected.**

Essays will be uploaded to the Turnitin assignment for the midterm essays by **Sunday, October 24<sup>th</sup> at 23.59/11.59 pm CET.**

**Your essays must include footnotes and a full bibliography in Chicago format. Any essays submitted without footnotes and a bibliography, with inadequate or inaccurate footnotes and/or with incorrectly formatted footnotes and/or bibliography will receive an automatic failing – F – grade.**

The final formal exam home will test the following:

1. The student's knowledge of the major themes, theories and schools of thought and major theoreticians regarding the study of nations and nationalism.
2. The student's understanding of the main points of controversy in the postwar study of nations and nationalism.
3. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence.

#### **Assessment breakdown**

<b>Assessed area</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Critical Thinking	25%
Use of Evidence to Support Ideas	25%
Answering the Question	25%
Grammar & Spelling	10%
Footnoting and Referencing	15%

#### ***Final Essays***

The final written assignment will also consist of two c. 800-1000-word (c. 3-4 double-spaced page) essays, for a total of c. 1600-2000 words (c. 6-8 pages). These essays will be completed at home by the student. The topics will be based upon seminars 7-11 from the second half of the course.

Prompts for the essays will appear on the seminar reading lists from the very beginning of the semester. **Students are therefore advised to begin reading, note-taking, thinking through and drafting their essays from very early in the semester, as a high standard of work will be expected.**

Essays will be uploaded to the Turnitin assignment for the midterm essays. Students will also be expected to submit printed copies of their essays on **Thursday, December 9<sup>th</sup> by 23.59/11.59 pm CET.**

**Both essays must include footnotes and a full bibliography in Chicago format. Any essays submitted without footnotes and a bibliography, with inadequate or inaccurate footnotes and/or with incorrectly formatted footnotes and/or bibliography will receive an automatic failing – F – grade.**

The final formal exam home will test the following:



1. The student's knowledge of the major themes, theories and schools of thought and major theoreticians regarding the study of nations and nationalism.
2. The student's understanding of the main points of controversy in the study of nations and nationalism, especially from the great flowering of nationalism studies beginning in the early 1980s to the present day.
3. The student's ability to discriminate between competing schools of historical interpretation, and to argue a reasoned defence or critique of one or the other schools of historical interpretation, using logic and evidence.

### **Assessment breakdown**

<b>Assessed area</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Critical Thinking	25%
Use of Evidence to Support Ideas	25%
Answering the Question	25%
Grammar & Spelling	10%
Footnoting and Referencing	15%

## **8. General Requirements and School Policies**

### ***General requirements***

All coursework is governed by AAU's academic rules. Students are expected to be familiar with the academic rules in the Academic Codex and Student Handbook and to maintain the highest standards of honesty and academic integrity in their work.

### ***Electronic communication and submission***

The university and instructors shall only use students' university email address for communication, with additional communication via NEO LMS or Microsoft Teams. Students sending e-mail to an instructor shall clearly state the course code and the topic in the subject heading, for example, "COM101-1 Mid-term Exam. Question". All electronic submissions are through NEO LMS. No substantial pieces of writing (especially take-home exams and essays) can be submitted outside of NEO LMS.

### ***Attendance***

Attendance, i.e., presence in class in real-time, is expected and encouraged. However, the requirement that students miss not more than 35% of real-time classes is temporarily suspended due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

### ***Absence excuse and make-up options***

Should a student be absent from classes for relevant reasons (illness, serious family matters), and the student wishes to request that the absence be excused, the student should submit an Absence Excuse Request Form supplemented with documents providing reasons for the absence to the Dean of Students within one week of the absence. If possible, it is recommended the instructor be informed of the absence in advance. Should a student be absent during the add/drop period due to a change in registration this will be an excused absence if s/he submits an Absence Excuse Request Form along with the finalized add/drop form.

Students whose absence has been excused by the Dean of Students are entitled to make up assignments and exams provided their nature allows. Assignments missed due to unexcused absences which cannot be made up, may result in a decreased or failing grade as specified in the syllabus.

Students are responsible for contacting their instructor within one week of the date the absence was excused to arrange for make-up options.

**Late work:** No late submissions will be accepted – please follow the deadlines.

### **Electronic devices**

Electronic devices (e.g., phones, tablets, laptops) may be used only for class-related activities (taking notes, looking up related information, etc.). Any other use will result in the student being marked absent and/or being expelled from the class. No electronic devices may be used during tests or exams unless required by the exam format and the instructor.

**Eating** is not allowed during classes.

### **Cheating and disruptive behavior**

If a student engages in disruptive conduct unsuitable for a classroom environment, the instructor may require the student to withdraw from the room for the duration of the class and shall report the behaviour to the student's Dean.

Students engaging in behaviour which is suggestive of cheating will, at a minimum, be warned. In the case of continued misconduct, the student will fail the exam or assignment and be expelled from the exam or class.

### **Plagiarism and Academic Tutoring Center**

Plagiarism is "the unauthorized use or close imitation of the language and thoughts of another author and the representation of them as one's own original work." (Random House Unabridged Dictionary, 2nd Edition, Random House, New York, 1993)

Turnitin's White Paper 'The Plagiarism Spectrum' (available at <http://go.turnitin.com/paper/plagiarism-spectrum>) identifies 10 types of plagiarism ordered from most to least severe:

1. CLONE: An act of submitting another's work, word-for-word, as one's own.
2. CTRL-C: A written piece that contains significant portions of text from a single source without alterations.
3. FIND-REPLACE: The act of changing key words and phrases but retaining the essential content of the source in a paper.
4. REMIX: An act of paraphrasing from other sources and making the content fit together seamlessly.
5. RECYCLE: The act of borrowing generously from one's own previous work without citation; To self-plagiarize.
6. HYBRID: The act of combining perfectly cited sources with copied passages—without citation—in one paper.
7. MASHUP: A paper that represents a mix of copied material from several different sources without proper citation.
8. 404 ERROR: A written piece that includes citations to non-existent or inaccurate information about sources
9. AGGREGATOR: The "Aggregator" includes proper citation, but the paper contains almost no original work.
10. RE-TWEET: This paper includes proper citation but relies too closely on the text's original wording and/or structure.

At minimum, plagiarism from types 1 through 8 will result in a failing grade for the assignment and shall be reported to the student's Dean. The Dean may initiate a disciplinary procedure pursuant to the Academic Codex. Allegations of bought papers and intentional or consistent plagiarism always entail disciplinary hearing and may result in expulsion from AAU.

If unsure about technical aspects of writing, and to improve their academic writing, students are encouraged to consult with the tutors of the AAU Academic Tutoring Centre. For more information and/or to book a tutor, please contact the ATC at: <http://atc.simplybook.me/sheduler/manage/event/1/>.

### **Course accessibility and inclusion**

Students with disabilities should contact the Dean of Students to discuss reasonable accommodations. Academic accommodations are not retroactive.

Students who will be absent from course activities due to religious holidays may seek reasonable accommodations by contacting the Dean of Students in writing within the first two weeks of the term. All requests must include specific dates for which the student requests accommodations.

### **9. Grading Scale**

<b>Letter Grade</b>	<b>Percentage*</b>	<b>Description</b>
A	95-100	<b>Excellent performance.</b> The student has shown originality and displayed an exceptional grasp of the material and a deep analytical understanding of the subject.
A-	90-94	
B+	87-89	<b>Good performance.</b> The student has mastered the material, understands the subject well and has shown some originality of thought and/or considerable effort.
B	83-86	
B-	80-82	
C+	77-79	<b>Fair performance.</b> The student has acquired an acceptable understanding of the material and essential subject matter of the course but has not succeeded in translating this understanding into consistently creative or original work.
C	73-76	
C-	70-72	
D+	65-69	<b>Poor.</b> The student has shown some understanding of the material and subject matter covered during the course. The student's work, however, has not shown enough effort or understanding to allow for a passing grade in School Required Courses. It does qualify as a passing mark for the General College Courses and Electives.
D	60-64	
F	0-59	<b>Fail.</b> The student has not succeeded in mastering the subject matter covered in the course.

\* Decimals should be rounded to the nearest whole number.

Prepared by: Dr William F. Eddleston

Date: June 13<sup>th</sup>, 2021.

Approved by: G. Hays II

Date: 8/24/21.